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The Week

IN support of the Brotherhood plan for ownership and operation of the railways Warren S. Stone, Chief of the Locomotive Engineers, declares that "it marks the step by which organized labor passes from demands for wage increases to demands that the system of profits in industry be overhauled." That statement, coming from the leader of a powerful trade union, hitherto conservative, raises a fundamental issue bound sooner or later to take precedence over all others in the determination of American industrial relations.

IF the diplomats in Paris want order in Hungary they have two alternatives before them: either they must deal straightforwardly with the government that succeeds the Communists or they must fall back on the bankrupt policy of "occupation." With only French troops to count upon, in any numbers, the Peace Conference is likely to prefer the first alternative. But that is a game demanding foresight and honesty in a greater degree than the Conference has shown in its dealings with Russia, Austria and Germany. It requires the offering of a just peace, the refusal to countenance a counterrevolution which would take the land from the peasants or institute a white terror, and the guarantee that Hungary's ambitious neighbors will not cut into her

estate. As we go to press it is reported that Rumanian troops, disregarding orders from the Peace Conference, have already entered and pillaged Budapest.

MR. EDWARD BING, United Press correspondent, declares that Lenin has given him "his first bona fide interview." The central point in what Lenin says is his statement that "many times" the Soviet government has offered peace to the Allied peoples. If that is indeed the fact, the Allied peoples know nothing about it. Whether Lenin is telling the truth, and if so, what his proposals have been, are questions that open diplomacy has never placed before us.

AN Associated Press dispatch from Paris brings news that Admiral Kolchak, having given up his entire battle-line, is now about to part with his capital. He is moving from Omsk to Irkutsk, twelve hundred and seventy-five more miles away from Moscow. His friends, however, still share an unbounded optimism. Mr. Bakhmetev, Kolchak's special representative in the United States, returns from Paris with this explanation for Kolchak's withdrawal to Irkutsk: "Ups and downs, fluctuations of military chances, are but natural. . . . For a healthy cause a setback is but a step toward improvement." Kolchak's cause, however, is not a healthy one. Reports which the Associated Press brings to America say that the morale of his army "is becoming so bad that there is little hope of it regaining the territory recently lost to the Bolsheviks." Where are the legions that were to spring to the aid of the democratic army? Despite a censorship, and the active propaganda of many agents, facts themselves are more and more revealing that Kolchak lacks the popular support which Sazanov and Bakhmetev have conjured up for him.

MR. BAKHMETEV does his best, in the interview he granted to the press on his return from Paris, to picture Admiral Kolchak as a military success and a democrat. He paints Kolchak, the general, by talking about Denikin; he describes Kolchak's brand of democracy in vague terms that nowhere summon facts. You would not guess from Mr. Bakhmetev's story that Kolchak came into power by overthrowing a democratic, non-Bolshevist government. You would not guess that anywhere in Siberia was his authority challenged. It is an interesting fact, nevertheless, that at the very time Mr. Bakhmetev declares "all the regional formations have recognized the government of Admiral Kolchak," the Inter-Allied Railway Commission has form-

ally protested to Kolchak that General Semenov (in territory supposedly controlled by the Admiral) has violated the agreement made with the Allies for operation of the railways.

KOLCHAK, for a time, may have British munitions—but he will not have British troops. That is the conclusion of Mr. Winston Churchill's address in Parliament—an address which was heralded as a defense of British policy, and which turned out to be a confession of complete failure. The Murman coast had first been seized, said Mr. Churchill, to prevent its being used as a submarine base by Germany. Afterwards, though no war had been declared against Russia, it was held so that a juncture with Kolchak might be effected, through Katlas and Perm, and the Archangel front be made part of Kolchak's main line. But that plan failed. Kolchak, instead of advancing, was driven far back from Perm. And so, said Mr. Churchill, British troops were to be withdrawn, from the Caucasus as well as from North Russia—withdrawn at the earliest possible moment consistent with their safety, British honor, the Russian civilians they had been defending, and their responsibility (this is the way "non-interference" works) toward "the government which had been set up at British instigation."

MR. CHURCHILL'S speech may bring the government a temporary respite from questions in Parliament; outside of Parliament, however, things are far from going the government's way. In Bothwell last week there was a by-election. Bothwell, in December, gave the Lloyd George Coalition a majority of 332. But Bothwell, this time, gave the Labor party a victory by the amazing majority of 7,000. Nor has the government escaped from even the more immediate of its industrial problems. After an announcement that the coal strike had been settled the Yorkshire mines remained idle, and fifty factories in Bradford were forced to close their doors for lack of fuel. In the background, most menacing of all, is the referendum now being taken by the Triple Alliance of railwaymen, transport workers and miners on the question of a general strike—a strike aimed at conscription, intervention in Russia, and the continued imprisonment of conscientious objectors.

HOW far we are from any new order in international relations is again disclosed in an appeal made by the Premier of Italy for an alliance with France. Nitti plainly relies on the politics of power. "As a result of the war," he says, "two million Italians have been added to our population. In a few years we shall have fifty millions—as against an Austria reduced to morsels, a reduced Germany and a limbless Russia. Of all the countries, Italy emerges from the war in the best condition, with more men fit for work. We shall possess henceforth impregnable frontiers. We will form the strongest body in Continental Europe." To those who are not sentimental this will read very much like the words in which Bismarck boasted his wares to the elder Andrassy, at the close of an earlier war.

FRENCH armies will "take and keep the left bank of the Rhine unless the American Senate ratifies the Anglo-

French-American alliance." That is the threat made by Stephan Luzanne, editor of *le Matin*, one of the papers often inspired by opinion in the French Foreign Office. M. Luzanne puts a slight valuation on the Senate's privilege as a treaty-making power. A bargain driven with Mr. Wilson, he thinks, is equivalent to a bargain driven with America. "America is morally obligated," he says; "if America goes back on her word. . . ."

THE American Senate lacks M. Luzanne's definiteness, in its opinion of what the Tri-Power Alliance involves. Certain Senators seem to think that the Alliance would do well enough if a "reservation" were made to separate it from its fictitious relation to the Covenant. If they follow that course they will mistake the implication of the Alliance for America. What is wrong with the Alliance is not that it is tied up with the League of Nations, but that it repudiates the League entirely. No "reservation" can make it anything other than it is: a pact with which the diplomats in the French Foreign Office hope to drive advantageous bargains on the Continent. Not reservation but complete rejection is demanded in the interest of democratic France no less than of America.

CONGRESS and the Administration may be behindhand in their plans to deal with the cost of living; but both are ready with plans for our protection in the next war. Secretary Baker has recommended a bill for three months' compulsory military training; Senator Chamberlain and Representative Kahn have introduced a different bill which provides for training during six months. This second plan makes a period of compulsory service possible, at the end of the training period, if voluntary enlistments do not keep the regular army up to its full strength. It must be admitted that those who have opposed compulsory military training in the past (believing that a system of physical training or vocational education, or both, was possible under civil authority) have a weaker case now that the world has failed to get a peace which discredits armament. It is nevertheless true that these American plans are brought forward at a time when the democratic element in every European country is threatening the downfall of that cabinet which dares to touch conscription.

JUSTICE JOHN V. McAVOY of the Supreme Court of New York State has dismissed action brought by the Attorney General to annul the charter of the Rand School of Social Science. The court's ruling did not involve the merits in the case; the Attorney General simply was not ready to go on. After all the sensational allusions to the evidence of revolutionary activities seized in the Rand School raid, this is what happened when a test actually came:

Justice McAvoy: Why are you not ready to go on trial now? There was an agreement to try this case at this time.

Deputy Attorney General: There are a number of matters—I am ready to put them before Your Honor in affidavit form.

Justice McAvoy: Never mind an affidavit—just tell me what they are.

Deputy Attorney General: We would prefer—

Justice McAvoy: No doubt you prefer—but I am asking for your reasons and would like an answer before we go further.

No satisfactory answer being furnished the case was dismissed. In the Fall, the Attorney General says, he will make a new attempt to take away the Rand School charter. The manner in which he has handled his first effort merely reacts on the heads of those who want to meet with a police club the advocacy of economic change.

SECRETARY DANIELS' proposal to make the means of radio communication a government monopoly opens an issue of genuine importance. For control of the radio service will prove an essential factor in international relations. Particularly with a treaty which establishes so many possible causes of dispute, and with a League which provides for consultation between no one except members of the several Foreign Offices, the promise of peace depends upon the ability of the rank and file in each country to keep informed of one another's real motives despite the diplomats. In the past the rank and file has played a losing game. The Krupps bought newspapers to tell the German people that Russia was threatening; the Russian munition makers used Germany as a spectre. It was a great game for the powder people; but it helped bring on the most heart-breaking tragedy of our century. Nor is it always, or only, the munition makers who color the news. Sometimes it is the editor or statesman, afraid of ideas he thinks contagious, or the investor in foreign concessions. More than a little manufactured news is coming to us today from Russia and Mexico.

IT is not that these forces in some fashion manage to ban news they don't like. It is simply that the defenders of the status quo ordinarily have funds which the labor and liberal papers lack—funds which enable them to purchase the service of the cables. Any paper, of course, can carry correspondence sent by mail. But mail matter has a hard time competing with up-to-date news, particularly if any situation is at all critical. What the world very much needs is a system of cheap and untrammelled communication. The radio promises such a system, but not unless its rates and control are based on an ideal of public service. Mr. Daniels' proposal is along the right track, though we shall need good guarantees on two points: that the radios will be made common carriers, like the railways, taking material from all comers; and that they will be entirely protected from all blighting censorship of future Mr. Burlesons.

IN an industry devoted to the gaudiest of manufactures—to the making of imitation flowers and feathers—there are conditions of labor as disreputable as can be found anywhere in our larger cities. Children under ten work in the tenements to help their mothers patch out a meagre wage. In some of the shops it is against rules to open windows because of the harm that draughts might do to the feathers—and the women and children must do their work in an atmosphere filled with the fumes of dye chemicals. Two years ago the Women's Trade Union League

began to organize the industry. It is far enough along now, to risk a strike. The workers have two demands: they want a wage that won't make it necessary to put children at the workbench—and they want the establishment of a board of sanitary control to safeguard both the workers and the public which buys their product.

THE interview given by President Carranza to the Associated Press is an obvious effort to pacify American sentiment. Some of our own statesmen are following a different course. It is natural for Congressmen from the Southwest to feel a keen responsibility for action that will bring peace on the border. But the speech made in Congress last week by Mr. Hudspeth of Texas will only increase the ill will he deplotes. That is certainly the result when a responsible member of the government arises in Congress, points to the American flag above the Speaker's desk and cries: "Let us carry that flag into Mexico to protect our citizens."—"I am not a jingo or an agitator," says Mr. Hudspeth; but in that light he will be regarded by Americans who believe there is still a better road to peace with Mexico than by the initiation of a new war.

IN the state of Washington a Superior Court judge has ruled that if women employees are to be paid the minimum wage fixed by state law then they must work seven days a week. His decision is based on the fact that no reference to a one day's rest was made in the conference that originally fixed the present minimum rate—though a later meeting of the State Industrial Commission made an explicit ruling in favor of "an eight-hour day and a six-day week of 48 hours' service." Shabby treatment of this sort will only confirm the suspicion of many workers that what the legislatures give them the courts try to take away.

The Challenge of the Railroad Brotherhoods

UNTIL last week, American opinion refused to take seriously the nationalization programme of the railway brotherhoods. Plans of bankers, railway officials, security holders and commercial organizations held the stage. Few people, probably not Mr. Wilson himself, imagined that the general aspirations toward democratization of industry in the last presidential address to Congress had any application to the railroad problem. Now the brotherhoods have called attention to their plan in the most peremptory and compelling manner. They have challenged Congress to drop political manoeuvring and reply, yes or no, whether it has any concrete programme for increasing the buying power of railroad wages. They have challenged the President to say whether he intends to give any practical application to his demand for the "genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which

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